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THE DISSOLUTION OF THE "SOLID SOUTH."

What Federal soldiers stationed at the polls on election days and Federal marshals called into existence by repressive acts of Congress alike failed to accomplish, has been effected through agencies of quite another character but of far more potency than any that could have possibly emanated from the city of Washington. The "Solid South" — long the fetich of one section of the country and the bugaboo of the other — has at last been shattered to such a degree that all the king's horses and men of the nursery rhyme could not put it together again, and with its destruction there vanishes from the field of American politics the long and bitter struggle over the slavery question. Curiously enough, moreover, a contest which for more than half a century entered into the warp and woof of our national history, reddening its pages with the most dreadful war of modern times, terminated almost as suddenly and unexpectedly as it appeared. Having spent its force — the storm was succeeded by the usual usual calm.

The causes of these cheering indications of a new and better order of things in the so-called torrid zone of American politics are doubtless numerous and of various degrees of importance; but they might perhaps all be reduced to two. Of these I should be inclined to assign the first place to those extraordinary economic changes so noticeable of late years in all of the more progressive communities of the South, — changes so subtle as almost to elude detection until suddenly they are recognized by everybody, although no one may be able to tell just how or when they came about. The other cause, and one of scarcely less significance than the first, may be discovered in the adoption by the Federal government of *laissez faire* principles with regard to the baffling entanglements growing out of the war. In other words, the Southern States

having been left to themselves are fast becoming more like the other States of the Union ; and while it is superfluous to speak, in these days of reconciliation, of the loyalty of the South, the opportunity is a fitting one to emphasize the wisdom of local self-government. For although the old repressive policy was rapidly converting the Southern States into a sort of New World Ireland, the more rational and liberal line of action that succeeded it put an end to many of the former political troubles and at the same time tended to make the country more homogeneous than ever before. But there must have been weighty reasons to cause the people of the South — or rather the white voters of that section — for so long a time to give their almost unanimous support to one of the great national parties into which public sentiment in America is divided. And since no intelligent and fair-minded person in this age and generation believes such a cause of conduct to have been the result of any animosity on the part of the Southern people toward the national government, it would perhaps be interesting to know just how a “Solid South” became possible. Therefore, after discussing the recent economic changes at the South, I shall endeavor briefly to set forth some of the reasons that in my opinion, led to the crystallization of political sentiment in the Southern States and for a time threatened still further to differentiate those commonwealths from the rest of the Union. But in order of time the industrial revolution preceded the political.

To those interested in the social development of America, there are few more inviting fields of study than the South since the war. That conflict, almost in the twinkling of an eye, shook the organization of society from top to bottom. First of all, the emancipation of the negro put an end to the industrial ascendancy of agriculture and at the same time multiplied avenues of usefulness, both for the black man and for his impoverished former owner. Meanwhile the urban population, naturally insignificant under the former system of labor, began to increase rapidly

when entire farms and plantations were deserted. For the negro, suddenly elevated to citizenship, sought in the nearest village the protection often denied him in the country, and the poorer class of whites, whose lot had been hard enough under the old régime, found in the rising communities comforts to which they had hitherto been strangers. At the same time the new mills, and foundries, and shops, and railways which were on all sides announcing an industrial dawn, discovered in the curious throngs of both races — dissatisfied with the unfavorable conditions of country life — the labor necessary to carry on the work of the economic revolution. Indeed, even the well-to-do now often moved to town and in the store or office of the nascent city saw a more inviting prospect than that afforded by the more remote portions of the country, not to mention the general disinclination on the part of those whom the war for the first time took from quiet environments, to return to the old way of living. But while these various indraughts of the rural population stimulated the growth of the urban communities at the expense of the rural, it would be a mistake to conclude that the latter were entirely depopulated. For while it is true that vast stretches of territory were not infrequently given over to negro tenants with all the evils of absentee landlordism, still those whose almost entire wealth consisted of land often remained on it displaying an energy and heroism that form the background of many a picture of contemporary Southern life. This class usually represented the farmers and planters of the old South; but in spite of hard work they have not, on the whole, made any considerable progress since the war. Those who were in the Southern army, for example, returning from the fields of battle, just as often as not, found their homes either entirely destroyed or fast going to decay; and notwithstanding the fact that numerous instances might be cited of wasted fortunes restored under circumstances of the most unpromising description, yet, taking the Southern States in the aggregate, these were exceptional cases. It would be much nearer the

truth, therefore, to say that the condition of the Southern farmers and planters — especially those in the seaboard States — has for a number of years been steadily growing from bad to worse. All things considered, it is much less encouraging now than it was directly after the war, when the high prices of the chief staples of the South brought a considerable degree of prosperity. But the construction of new lines of railways in the Southwest, by throwing upon the markets of the world the products of the rich soil of Arkansas, Texas, and other States, caused widespread disaster in the less favored sections of the country which underwent still greater suffering after the construction of cotton compresses throughout the interior. In some parts of the country it became almost impossible to sell land at any figures. Nor was it any the easier to mortgage a farm or plantation, since in nine cases out of ten, if a foreclosure became necessary, the mortgagee got next to nothing. I am referring, in this connection, more particularly to the older Southern States. In the Southwest a much healthier financial situation has long existed.

It is quite true that much of the suffering experienced by the agricultural classes of the South was often due as much to their own improvidence as to the industrial revolution that has overtaken them. The landowners, for example, have perhaps been too much disposed to rent out on "shares" to ignorant negroes fields which under a more intelligent system of cultivation might be made to yield abundant harvests. The lack of a diversity of crops, moreover, and the stubborn adherence to an extensive instead of an intensive system of agriculture have also told heavily against the rural interests by making the agriculturists almost entirely dependent upon the factor or banker. It was no unusual thing, for instance, for the farmer or planter to give to a creditor an agricultural lien on an entire crop before a single seed had been put into the ground. Very often, too, the landlord, when settling with his negro tenants at the end of the year, would add to the

prices charged by the merchant, additional sums or exploit the blacks by means of the "order" system, while it was very common to keep back a portion of what was due the tenants in order to retain their services for another year. On the other hand, the blacks would perhaps just as frequently steal everything they could lay hands on in the way of corn, cotton, and domestic animals that may be eaten. Accordingly mutual distrust took the place of that friendly coöperation which lent some charm even to slavery itself, and the interests both of the white man and of the black were blighted by the wretched credit system. It is true some measure of relief was promised by the Farmers' Alliances — coöperative societies similar to the agricultural syndicates of France — but the unfortunate entrance of politics into these organizations is threatening their very existence. Under these circumstances, therefore, is it altogether surprising that the agricultural classes — especially those occupying sections of the country so sparsely inhabited as to render impossible an efficient system of popular education — turned a ready ear to ignorant demagogues, who pointed to the rapidly growing towns as the source of all the woes the agriculturists suffered?

As already indicated, the condition of affairs in the Southern towns — save those enjoying the factitious activity of a "boom" — is on the whole far more satisfactory than in the country. This is particularly true of those younger communities which have sprung into life along the new lines of highway. Curiously enough, moreover, these modern centres of industry and population are rapidly causing the ancient splendors of the colonial towns to fade into insignificance. Indeed, this growth of urban life in the South is one of the most extraordinary phenomena of recent times, for, as everybody knows, the bulk of the Southern people before the war lived in the country and had their thoughts and habits of life shaped under rural influences. Much of this concentration is, to be sure, part of that general movement which characterizes modern civiliza-

tion, but at the same time the transformation in the Southern States has been one of kind rather than of degree ; and if we are to accept the theory that the political tendencies of any given age or section of country are largely the result of economic conditions, the present trend of public sentiment at the South is not so remarkable after all.

I have already indicated a few of the causes which have in recent years made for the growth of the urban population of the South at the expense of the rural. A few words will perhaps make my meaning plainer. Before the war each Southern county had, of course, its capital where were located the court house, the chief administrative offices, and the jail ; but the population of these villages was usually small and composed for the most part of professional men, merchants, artisans, and slaves employed for domestic purposes. Of civic zeal there was next to nothing, unless one is to count sporadic efforts to remove the mud from unpaved streets or the more frequent activity displayed when some luckless runaway negro was captured by the "patterrollers" and locked up in the guardhouse. And although during the sessions of court or on "sales days" the usually quiet thoroughfares of these little communities were alive with visitors, yet on the whole the average Southern village of the past was as dull a place as one could possibly imagine. Each State, to be sure, had its metropolis, which, in a way, approached the court city of a continental province ; but on account of bad roads and a defective system of communication generally, such towns were rarely visited by any other than the wealthy classes or those in easy circumstances. Situated on the coast or near some navigable stream, these larger towns of the Old South carried on a somewhat extensive commerce, not only with the rest of the country, but even with Europe. Manufacturing interests, however, were but slightly developed and money was far from being plentiful. Generally speaking, then, the more densely inhabited communities of the Old South might be classified under two heads : dis-

tributing points and administrative centres. The latter were, for reasons easily understood, insignificant from a commercial point of view. In those days the farmers and planters usually raised their own supplies, spun their own thread, and wove their own cloth. But as already intimated, this independence was in a great measure changed when the blacks were emancipated and the seal of slavery removed from the hidden resources of the country. Hence in the smart modern town, with its banks, and shops, and mills, and stores, and numerous other accessories of a nineteenth century industrial community, one finds it hard to recognize the sleepy mediæval village of forty years ago. Naturally enough, too, this multiplication of industrial centres meant a loss of prestige to the more ancient cities, whose business men saw with astonishment and dismay the reins of industry seized by young and vigorous rivals.

A rapid system of communication soon put the urban population of the South in closer contact with the outside world than was possible for the rural inhabitants, with the natural result that the former came more in touch with the spirit of the age. Daily newspapers, for example, with an enterprise unknown to past generations laid before their readers news from all parts of the world; business men began to make frequent visits to the East; travelling salesmen hurried to the Southern towns, as did also cotton and tobacco buyers; Southern lads were again seen at Northern institutions of learning and now that the slavery question had been settled, became more susceptible to outside influences than formerly; thousands of Southern people began to make their homes in the Northern States to find existence there in many respects more agreeable than in the South, while perhaps just as many Northern people were at the same time discovering in the soft climate of the Southern States an escape from the discomforts of a colder latitude. These circumstances, combined with the subtle interplay of other forces too numerous to mention, have had a constant tendency to differentiate the urban population from the rural. For it

must be remembered that a relatively larger number of comfortably situated people now dwell in the Southern towns than in the country, and that intersectional migration has, in this connection, usually been from one city or town to another.

When one attempts to describe the differences between the townfolk and the countryfolk of the South of to-day, one finds difficulty in giving expression to thoughts which almost every student of the subject must have entertained. This difference is not always one of education, so often the line of demarkation between the rural and the urban classes of population, for there are still many highly intelligent persons in the country as well as stupid ones in the towns. And where the conditions of life are more favorable, one frequently meets in the rural districts of the South the same charm and refinement that threw so fascinating a glamor over the old rural society; but in less advanced sections of the country the population is at times rude and even primitive.

Taking the whole of the South together, the good and the bad portions of that section, it would perhaps not be very far from the mark to say that the countrypeople are more like the old-fashioned Southerners than the townspeople, while the latter more nearly approach the people of the North. In the towns, moreover, one finds the people more alert than those of the country, on the whole better informed, less prejudiced against the negro, and more inclined to break with the past. On the other hand, there is perhaps in the country a kindlier feeling toward strangers, more hospitality, a greater tendency toward mutual aid, and, all things considered, more conservatism. Briefly, therefore, there now exist in the Southern States — and for the first time in a number of years — those elements which have entered into the formation of political parties ever since the rise of representative government.

It must not be inferred from the foregoing remarks that public opinion at the South has never until now been

divided; for even when there was a lack of industrial development in that section men did not agree unanimously on the great questions of the day. During the heroic period of the nation's history, the Federalists always claimed the allegiance of some of the wealthiest and most gifted of Southerners, who failed to regard Jefferson as the prophet of Democracy or the Constitution they had helped to frame as the embodiment of all that was harmful to the cause of popular government. Men are still living, moreover, who will tell you of a time when the Democrats, even after the hardest sort of a struggle, often had victory snatched almost from their hands by the active and triumphant Whigs; and a defiant light will flame in the eyes of these representatives of a past generation as they narrate the stirring scenes of a good, old-fashioned ante-bellum campaign with its exciting joint discussions, barbecues galore, and free fights in which rival candidates not unfrequently followed up the arguments of the platform with fistic exhibitions. But the storms occasioned by the slavery dispute welded together the masses of the Southern people, who fancied they saw in the nascent Republican party, confined exclusively to the North and the West, an organization hostile to every supposed Southern interest and bent on uprooting the Constitution itself. There were those who did not and could not believe this; but so thorough had been the work of the politicians that nothing could stem the current. Arguments were cast to the winds; and all opposition to the madness of secession was swept out of existence by the rising storm of popular fury, which hurled everything and everybody over the precipice. The results all the world knows. The war was fought and lost and the familiar upheavals followed.

But the question may be asked, what has all this to do with the "Solid South?" A very great deal, for I have simply been sketching the birth of that institution; and although I would not imply that the united action of the Southern people in politics since the war has indicated any

latent hostility to the nation, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the civil conflict solidified the South while the sectional origin and persistently sectional policy of the Republican party stereotyped a condition of affairs which might otherwise have entirely disappeared years ago. For when the party that had saved the Union began the work of reconstructing the recalcitrant commonwealths it found itself confronted by most serious and delicate complications. It is unnecessary here to discuss the constitutional difficulties that hampered legislation, although they were as embarrassing as they could be; nor is it worth while to dwell at length on the wisdom or unwisdom of the enfranchisement of the negroes. Suffice it to say that the great majority of the Southern whites regarded the latter step as one not only unjustifiable, but designed for their especial humiliation, socially and politically. Even the horrors of war were almost forgotten when men began to reflect on the possibility of that "social equality" of the blacks which for so long a time has filled the minds of the whites with a nameless dread and obscured the judgment of the clearest intellects. It was impossible to convince the average Southerner of the Caucasian race that no government on earth could compel a man against his will to invite to his residence one he did not wish to receive there or that a century of political equality among the whites has failed to bring about a social equality among members of the same race. Equally as profitless was the task of trying to persuade the more ignorant members of Southern communities that the people of the North entertained toward their erring kinsmen no feelings of hatred or revenge. In the dominant party they saw a foe taking undue advantage of a defeated enemy and busily engaged in devising new schemes by which to bury him still deeper in the ashes of grief and shame. Even in the North there was strong opposition to giving the right of suffrage to the blacks. In the light of experience, however, it is difficult to see what other course could have been pursued; and even if a different policy

had been practicable, it was rendered impossible by the action of the Southern people themselves. For as soon as those not laboring under civil disabilities met, in obedience to President Johnson's proclamation — directly after the war and before the blacks had been given the right to vote — for the purpose of reorganizing the State governments of the South, they began to adopt measures which, if they had been carried into effect, would have virtually reduced the negroes to the status of serfs. A vague feeling of alarm spread throughout the land. The South was distrusted. The black man, moreover, — long an object of universal sympathy — suddenly loomed into greater prominence than ever before. The radical wing of the Republican party came rapidly to the front. It is true that the Southern people were not disloyal, for never had a population vanquished in war, more universally accepted the decision of the sword. There is nothing like it in all history. After the surrender of the Confederate armies, not a gun in the South was raised against a government which the energies of a whole people had sought to destroy, but at the same time, foreign critics like Mr. Bryce urge that the people of the South failed to appreciate, at the close of the war, the temper of the North with respect to the innocent race which, directly or indirectly, had given rise to the great conflict. Since the Southern States themselves, however, have long ago ratified the results of the war, the question of negro suffrage is closed to discussion and is mentioned here only for the purpose of explaining recent feelings in the South toward the Republican party as well as to serve as an introduction to the period of reconstruction.

If there had been no negroes in the South there would have been no war of secession and no "Solid South;" but it was written in the Book of Fate that there should be both. And while it is scarcely necessary in this connection to do more than briefly touch upon some of the earliest fruits of the XVth Amendment, a general knowledge of Southern conditions three decades ago is essential to a correct under-

standing of contemporary events. Led by the "carpet baggers" and "scalawags," who had United States soldiers and marshals at their beck and call, the ignorant negroes and their more venal white allies set up the most corrupt governments the modern civilized world has ever beheld. Thievery was rampant. Jobbery was enthroned. Honesty was one of the lost arts. A depleted treasury with taxes annually leaping to higher figures; reckless extravagance in the face of widespread poverty, and ignorance, and vice banded together for the purpose of still further exploiting those who furnished the government with its revenue without enjoying the right to participate in legislation, were a few of the many evils which afflicted the Southern whites, often maddening them to the point of desperation. Naturally they did not take kindly to the Republican party, for that was the name assumed by the organization in their midst with which every evil of the times was associated. Meanwhile the races drifted further and further apart. Lawless whites, under the guise of "bushwhackers" and "Ku-Klux," often created a reign of terror in some sections of the South, while the black militiamen occasionally came into collision with irregularly created military companies among the whites. But the whites were becoming stronger politically, as each year witnessed the removal of the civil disabilities of thousands who had been engaged in the secession movement. Whenever, however, the whites claimed to have carried an election, there was raised the cry of a new rebellion which troops were sent to put down; and on such occasions the political organization that stood up in Congress to plead for a restoration to the Southern States of their constitutional rights was the one known as the Democratic party. On the other hand, all of the machinery of the dominant Republicans was set in motion to preserve the existence of the "Solid South" of the radicals. If at the time there had been any disposition on the part of the Republicans to treat the white people of the Southern States with some degree of fairness, they could

have won over to the support of their party many intelligent men of the South. But unfortunately a majority of the leaders of that party saw in the black man a Republican and in the white a Democrat and a rebel, and these facts, added to other historic causes among which are to be included the deeply rooted prejudices of the Southerners themselves, still further embittered public sentiment at the South against a party regarded as purely sectional. Hence the race lines were drawn in politics; and the average white voter, no matter what his opinions may have been on the great questions of the day, sunk them when faced with the alternative of corruption or honesty in the administration of local affairs. But that there was no objection to the Republican party as such, was seen in the general support accorded the Greeley movement in 1872, as well as in numerous combinations between the whites and the disaffected factions constantly rising among the negroes and "carpet baggers." Meanwhile, however, as little by little, every hope of relief through compromises was frustrated, the Democratic party became thoroughly organized throughout the South. A decided change began to take place within the Republican party itself, whose more intelligent followers commenced to recede somewhat from the extreme position necessarily assumed during the more turbulent period of reconstruction, but which was no longer necessary a decade after the war had ended. President Grant's plea for peace accordingly struck a responsive chord in the popular heart both North and South, and the era of reconciliation began. One after another the ex-Confederates had their disabilities removed and entering Congress took part in a government they had but recently fought against. This manifestation of generosity was not without its effect on the South, and in spite of occasional expressions of sectional animosity, the masses began to take broader views on public questions generally, although in many parts of the South there was little disposition to accord the negro his political rights. Finally, President Hayes, himself a Republican, recalled the

troops from the South, and local self-government became possible ; but unfortunately the Democrats had frequently resorted to fraud and violence in order to carry elections, and this furnished the extreme men of the Republican party an opportunity to advocate a return to the old repressive measures. The whole country, however, had by now grown weary of the subject ; the cry of wolf had been raised too often. So the Southern States were left to themselves with the hope that the cultivation of more enlarged sympathies, together with the natural rise of new issues, would correct evils the general government found it impossible to cure ; and never has the policy of non-interference been more speedily justified. At first the Democratic party, with all outside pressure removed, held undisputed sway, since in some States the negroes were virtually disfranchised. The radical party simply collapsed. Shorn of their claws, the vultures tumbled from their roosts. Every few years, however, remnants of the old ring went through the formality of a reorganization, but often for the sole purpose of getting money from unsuspecting Republicans at the North or to send delegates to national conventions of their party, where they as often as not openly and shamelessly sold their votes to the highest bidder. I am speaking now, of course, of the far South. In the so-called border States the Republicans were frequently the equals of the Democrats in intelligence and honesty.

Meanwhile, the Democratic party of the South, composed of the most discordant elements, was being rent in twain by factional struggles. In ignorant legislatures and an incompetent judiciary ; in apathy and indifference on the part of large numbers of voters as seen in a general abstention from the polls ; and in crimes of the most shocking nature, ever increasing with alarming frequency, were read with vague feelings of dread the swift Nemesis of fraud and violence. Then again, the multiplication of fields of usefulness afforded the rising generation of Southerners new careers of usefulness and profit, and politics ceased to monopolize gen-

eral interest. At first, however, every attempt to act independently of the Democratic party was denounced almost as fiercely as if it had been treason ; but by and by, with the march of those industrial forces described above, the contests between the town and the country representatives of the one party in existence grew so acute as practically to create two sharply drawn lines of division in the Democratic party itself, each of which was frequently organized almost as completely as if it had been a separate party. Whichever faction got the upperhand at a primary election, virtually came into possession of the offices ; hence these preliminary skirmishes, usually bitter to a degree, have in some States resulted in complete estrangement. It came about in this way. When the ballots cast at a primary election were counted, fraud was often charged. Of course this should not have created the surprise it did, for those who cheat one set of men will, in nine cases out of ten, resort to the same practices in their dealings with others. But those who had warmly justified a resort to fraud in order to count out the blacks, now became frantic when they discovered that they themselves were being treated in the same manner. All this naturally had its effect. And even the election of a Democratic president contributed greatly toward the disintegration of that party in the South, for although there were many who recognized in Mr. Cleveland a man of more than ordinary intelligence and patriotism, there were others—particularly disappointed office-seekers—who denounced him most unjustly and ignorantly. Then, too, there may have been a rather general feeling of disappointment when men saw that notwithstanding the victory of the party they had so long and loyally supported, the times continued as hard as ever. For had not their leaders dinned it into their ears that as soon as a Democratic president took up his abode in the White House, the accumulated privations of years would give way to general prosperity?

The farmers were particularly instrumental in putting an end to party allegiance in the South. Dissatisfied with their

wretched condition, which they attributed in great measure to the rings and cliques that had seized the party machinery throughout the Southern States, the farmers began to organize, and would undoubtedly have put an end to the solidarity of the white voters had not the fear of "negro domination" deterred them. The rural members fought at first within party lines, and in several States captured the machinery of the organization. Elsewhere, however, they were not so successful; but wherever these contests took place the results were the same. The defeated faction left the party, the breach was permanent. The party calling itself Populist naturally absorbed the disaffected farmers, and this party, by uniting in some States with the reawakened Republican organization has managed to make considerable headway. In other States, particularly where the farmers have been able to capture the machinery of the Democratic party, the townspeople are turning towards the Republican party, which is sure, therefore, to gain greatly in the South within the next few years, and the disappearance this year from party platforms of all allusions to sectional disputes is an indication that the Republicans foresee the budding strength of their party in the Southern States.

In conclusion, the present trend of public sentiment at the South brings the promise of a new and better era not only for that section but for the whole country. Free government is, of course, impossible under a system which checks the growth of political parties; and this lesson the South has learned by bitter experience. Statesmanship, moreover, cannot exist as long as the activity of publicists is confined to inventing schemes by which to deprive the ignorant black man of his vote without at the same time taking the electoral franchise from the ignorant white man, if such a policy is considered as really desirable at all. Greater diversity of interests necessarily creates differences of opinion. This tendency has been already indicated. The rivalries of contending parties, moreover, will call forth the negro vote to an even greater extent than is now being done; and the black man will be protected more effectively

than by any application of external force. Negro domination is as impossible as negro slavery : both belong to an irrevocable past. To many voters of the South, both white and black, the ideas of the Democratic party will always appeal strongly, and this, of course, is fortunate, for so long as that party remains true to the principles proclaimed by its intelligent leaders in the past and in the present, the country will be safe in its hands. On the other hand, there is a growing body of voters at the South who have reached the conclusion that the Republican party more nearly represents their views than does the other organization ; that much of the suffering the South underwent during the period of reconstruction had its origin some distance this side of the city of Washington, and that if the brave men who fought out the war have learned to forget it, it is certainly neither brave nor honorable for those who took no part in that struggle to prolong its bitter memories. Sentiments like these are rapidly coming to the front throughout the Southern States, and have been doing so for years. The break-up of the "solid South" is of course a great gain to both parties. It was always a pretty heavy burden for the Democrats to carry, while the Republicans had just cause to complain of a state of things which dishonestly deprived them of strength that properly belonged to them. Of course the growing number of independent voters will make their influence more and more felt. Like many others of all shades of opinion, they are weary of seeing their section cutting so sorry a figure in national politics, and have resolved to do their best to put an end to a system which enables the "Solid South" to be pledged in advance to any candidate or platform a party may choose to offer the voters of the United States. Loving their section and country as they do, many Southern voters moreover denounce the implied assertion that the South is a feudatory and they themselves serfs, and thousands of these, therefore, will in November next support the Republican ticket and rally around the flag of the nation by voting for its honor as gladly as they would fight for it.

They denounce what they deem to be repudiation and dishonesty. To them the "free silver" delusion, in spite of the personal integrity of many of its victims, is a menace to everything that has contributed to our national greatness. To them country is a bigger thing than party or a point of the compass.

B. J. RAMAGE.